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still a desideratum in Aegean Greece): these developments appear out of the blue, given the book's consistent stress on the difference between the under-explored and under-appreciated South Italy and the intensively-explored and highly valued mainland Greece, as it emerged from the nineteenth-century onwards. The book badly needed a concluding chapter, which could have provided a better guidance for the reader through the impressive panorama that Ceserani presents. But a book of reasonable size cannot achieve everything, and these are questions that future research should take on and integrate within the framework that Ceserani so brilliantly has delineated.

In conclusion: this is a very important and stimulating study that should reach a very wide audience. The history of historiography should be at the centre of novel approaches to Mediterranean history and archaeology, and this book shows eloquently why this should be the case.

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*Free at Last! The Impact of Freed Slaves on the Roman Empire.*

S. BELL and T. RAMSBY (Eds.).

London, Bristol Classical Press, 2012.

Pp. xii + 212 + 25 black and white figures. Price: £50.00.

ISBN 978-1-85399-751-8.

*Free at Last!* is the product of the editorial efforts of Sinclair Bell and Teresa Ramsby, which brings together the contributions of eight scholars (including one of the editors) on a number of aspects of the study of freed slaves at Rome. 'The passion for freedom', Bell and Ramsby contend in their Introduction (p. 1), 'the desire to overcome the stigma of servitude, and the urge to make a life that outshines that former servitude is visible in most well-documented slaves societies': the volume thus seeks to give 'a voice to the voiceless' in the *Roman* world, in order to recognize 'their contributions to Roman life and culture'.

The short historiographical and bibliographical overviews that are part of the editors' Introduction occasion a peculiar moment of surprise in this context when the reader is informed (in a footnote) that the Introduction 'makes no claim of comprehensiveness in bibliography' giving as the reason the vast and rapidly expanding volume of scholarly contributions to the topic (p. 16, n. 5): claims to bibliographic comprehensiveness would at best be implausible in most areas of study today. But the omission of Ingomar Weiler's comparative study of the role of the slave's wish for freedom (*Die Beendigung des Sklavenstatus im Altertum* [2003], published under the auspices of the Mainz Academy slavery project) is inexplicable: Weiler pays

particular attention to the different exiting strategies from slavery, and discusses at length the role of (the hope and desire for) freedom in slavery (esp. pp. 115–45); Bell and Ramsby, in contrast, merely postulate the slave's 'passion for freedom', without themselves providing documentation or argumentation in support of the application of that premise to the Roman world.

The first thematic chapter, by Barbara Borg, on 'The Face of the Social Climber', analyses the assimilation of freed slaves in the material record, especially in funerary reliefs, to the likeness of the Roman aristocracy in surviving portrait busts. The chapter is an English translation of a previously published paper in German that contains only minor bibliographical additions and, instead of a new or comprehensively reworked text, an epilogue by the author to indicate where she sees 'scope for further research', in conjunction 'with some further comments and thoughts on what I would do differently if I wrote this paper now and in a different context' (p. 38). This element of promise, in place of delivery, is shared by the other contributions to the volume in a number of ways, as the following brief comments on the next four chapters show.

Thus, Pauline Ripat's goal in the second chapter consists in 'Locating the Grapevine in the Late Republic'. The chapter offers a synthetic overview of moments of (and possibilities for) the transfer of information in Roman Republican politics; the final five pages of the chapter are reserved for what are essentially passing remarks on the potential role of freed slaves in this process: no sustained elaboration or exploration is offered. Teresa Ramsby's chapter seeks to offer a new 'reading' of the freed slave in the part of Petronius' *Satyricon* known as the *Cena Trimalchionis*. The particular focus is on the inscriptions in the *Cena* – none of which is analysed in depth or detail, thus missing the chance to offer any truly different reading or fresh understanding. Instead, the chapter employs (and thereby reinforces) many of the standard staples of our understanding of the *Cena* and its larger-than-life host (e.g., the concept of freedmen as a 'social class', pp. 70, 78, or of the 'provincialisation' and 'vulgarisation' of Trimalchio through an interpretation of his abode as a 'Campanian home' and of his tomb as 'a model of silly and over-the-top monumentalisation', p. 81). Koenraad Verboven's chapter on 'The Freedman Economy of Roman Italy' sets out to show that the economy of Roman Italy was as much dependent on freedmen as it was on slaves. To this end, Verboven offers a summary on just under fourteen pages of a number of relevant viewpoints in a range of related areas of study – including the discussion of legal matters, demographic aspects, educational and managerial issues: the effect is that of a list, rather than of an argument. In contrast to Verboven, Marc Kleijwegt concentrates in his chapter on the role of freedwomen in the Roman Empire. He comments, inter alia, on their roles in the family and in the economy as well as more generally on the female

slave's prospect of manumission. In conclusion, Kleijwegt contends that he has 'argued in favour of a research strategy which develops a broad spectrum of questions, through the use of all the diverse types of evidence that survive from the world of ancient Rome, but also through the critical examination of the evidence from other slave societies and the scholarship that it has created' (p. 121): that 'research strategy' is neither new nor in need of special mention in the scholarship on ancient slavery, or in ancient history at large.

The longest chapter in the volume is that by Carlos R. Galvao-Sobrinho on 'Household Burials and the Social Strategies of Slaves and Freed Persons in the Early Principate'. The author seeks to explain the rise and decline of the burial behaviour associated with the big household columbaria in Rome. In the Augustan age, he argues, there existed 'a new sense of pride in belonging together in the *familia*' because 'servile groups desired to identify more closely with the *familia* and to associate with their household peers' (p. 141): by (their) choice, then, the slaves and ex-slaves buried their dead together in the type of sepulchre made famous especially by the *Monumentum Liviae* and the burial monument of the Statilii. In contrast, in the latter half of the first century AD, the gradual disappearance of this burial habit is interpreted as a reflection of the slaves' and ex-slaves' 'growing indifference to the household and a weakening of their sense of attachment to the *familia*' (p. 145): Galvao-Sobrinho suggests that this was the result of 'their desire to create a world detached from the household and its legacy of servility and dependence' (p. 146), which was realised in the form of 'more spontaneous, individualised and intimate commemorative experiences' (p. 146). He concludes that the new narratives of the self that the different choice of funerary arrangement afforded the slaves and ex-slaves grew out of (and gained meaning from) 'the possibility of exercising choice in the kind of networks to which one would belong' (p. 147). The author's stress on the slaves' and ex-slaves' choices and decisions (however loosely defined: see p. 145) in these matters weakens the argument. It sits uncomfortably alongside the contention that in the Augustan age, the servile members of the aristocratic *familiae* were 'more dependent than ever before on the whim of their former masters' (p. 143): if that was so, their ability to persuade and manipulate their masters and patrons to support (or at least accept and tolerate) *their* 'burial preference' (p. 137) – which is the lynchpin of Galvao-Sobrinho's argument – must surely be regarded as having been seriously diminished rather than augmented?

As this short summary of the six main chapters should have made clear, the contributors to *Free at Last!* all ask interesting and important questions for the study of the role of freed slaves in the Roman Empire: but we will have to look elsewhere for the answers. The penultimate chapter, by Michele Valerie Ronnick, on 'White Teachers' Advocacy and Instruction of Greek and Latin to African American Freedmen' offers, in contrast to the preceding

contributions, a glimpse of an aspect of *modern* slavery – albeit with a classical edge. The chapter concentrates on discussion of four American institutions – Oberlin College, Atlanta University, Fisk University and Lincoln University – and their approaches to the education of people of colour in the classical languages. Quoting W. E. B. Du Bois' contention that the Greek and Latin teachers were 'radical in their belief in Negro possibility' because of their imperviousness to race prejudice, Ronnick concludes without much ado that these teachers were 'instrumental in laying the foundation for this humane attitude in the United States' (p. 190). Ronnick's chapter and example is picked up by Eleanor Winsor Leach in her 'Response Essay: What Has Pliny to Say?', which brings the volume to a close. In Leach's words, Ronnick demonstrates in her chapter and work 'a combination of her own moral imperative and the disciplinary pride in the specific contributions of Classicists. In this respect', Leach concludes, 'the research that she has made her own is a fitting conclusion to this collection' (p. 208). The implicit correlation in this statement between Classics and what Thomas Wiedemann termed 'the ideal of man' in his translation of Joseph Vogt's collected essays (titled, in the 1965 original, *Sklaverei und Humanität*), is obvious, and, perhaps, not such a fitting end to a collection that explores on some two hundred pages an aspect of what the editors termed 'the ultimate mode of victimization' (p. 1). To be sure, one need not share the moral verdict on slavery expressed by Bell and Ramsby with respect to a society that, for all we know, might have found the modern scholarly obsession with 'the passion for freedom' peculiar: Moses Finley's warning of the 'teleological fallacy' rings loud in this context (M. Finley, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* [1980], 17). But one cannot deny that the classical world – the cause and object of the disciplinary pride of the Classicist – was the habitat for the forced migration and brutal exploitation of uncountable human beings, in the names of *libertas* and *civitas*. Anyone priding themselves on the values that come with a classical education needs to take overt cognisance of the means by which these values were achieved – and the legacy these had on the modern world. And if this is done, a moral imperative of the Classicist can, then, and by definition, not exist today.

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